291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

291 Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
● [881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[413] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
●[881] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitãua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiãua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitáua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
● 981 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
981 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

! [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
•881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
[237] (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanõ) incisor nearest to the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauíua male body painting.

it on the arms.

302 While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer ●891 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
● 881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma- [381] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on [462] the day when her first menstruation ends.

As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the 114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect 302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its 751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahõ, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "mockings." It is worth noting that such "mockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

301 According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
237 (aviõ, aviũ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampitĩnia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
• [881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.
292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only
[114] one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninchó's possession. I
[171] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
•881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
237 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

532 [108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 [171] of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some 301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in [283] Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles- 301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton • 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by 301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupí tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[192] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

495 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantí). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitíua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Manínohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitíua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitínia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuí. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 991 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
301 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitíua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 237 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichî in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [981] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *marántzunkandra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *kwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauió (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabu disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kauíwaxi, Kamairabu's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabu's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kauíwaxi's father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupamtxóa and Vuíraí, and those of the Vuiramxiniõ were the chief Kamairí and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohõ.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuírantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxiniõ to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuiramxiniõ. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirí group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxiniõ are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirí, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirí is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahõ invited me to go with him to the apatxirí. On the previous day, Chief Tanupamtxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [902] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [856] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] that of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. [302] For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [462] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [283] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [237] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 881 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

42: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

Charles Wagley

115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
122 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
123 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of
●881 Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
122 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-
123 like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next